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FOLLOWING SENT ACTION SECSTATE INFO SECDEF ALL CSCE CAPITALS EC
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QUOTE

C O N F I D E N T I A L HELSINKI 940

E. O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR

SUBJECT: CSCE: SUMMARY ASSESSMENT OF THIRD ROUND OF
MULTILATERAL PREPARATORY TALKS

VIENNA ALSO FOR US REP MBFR

GENEVA FOR DISTO

FROM USDEL MPT

BEGIN SUMMARY. SOVIETS HAVE STAKED OUT A TOUGH
NEGOTIATING POSITION ON SEVERAL KEY ISSUES, PARTICULARLY
ON FRONTIER INVIOABILITY, HUMAN CONTACTS, PRIOR NOTIF-
ICATION OF MAJOR MILITARY MOVEMENTS, AND PRINCIPLES OF
MFN AND NON- DISCRIMINATION. SOVIET FIRMNESS HAS ONLY
ENCOURAGED THOSE ALLIES WHO WISH TO SLOW DOWN MPT
ESTABLISH A CLOSER PARALLELISM WITH MBFR, AND ADD
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TO DIFFICULTIES IN MEETING LATE JUNE DATE FOR OPENING
MINISTERIAL MEETING.

ON THE POSITIVE SIDE, MPT-3 HAS WITNESSED A SHIFT
FROM SET-PIECE STATEMENTS OF PREVIOUS ROUNDS TO THE
BEGINNINGS OF ACTUAL DRAFTING OF MANDATES FOR THE
SUBSTANTIVE WORK OF CSCE. THE SOVIETS HAVE MOVED FROM
THEIR EARLIER OPPOSITION TO SPECIFIC AND COMPREHENSIVE
"TASKS" FOR COMMITTEES, AND THEY ARE NOW WORKING WITHIN
THE FRAMEWORK OF THE MORE DETAILED MANDATES PROPOSED BY
THE WESTERN ALLIES. NONETHELESS, HARD BARGAINING ON
PRECISE TEXTS AWAITS MPT-4, WHICH ON APRIL 25 WILL
BEGIN EFFORT TO COMPLETE SUBSTANTIVE AND PROCEDURAL
PREPARATIONS FOR THE MINISTERIAL. END SUMMARY

MAJOR SUBSTANTIVE DIFFERENCES

1. FRONTIER INVIOABILITY. THE SOVIETS HAVE INSISTED
THAT PRINCIPLE OF INVIOABILITY OF FRONTIERS MUST BE
LISTED AS A SEPRATE POINT IN THE MANDATE ON PRINCIPLES
GUIDING RELATIONS BETWEEN PARTICIPATING STATES, WITHOUT
ANY SPECIFIC LINKAGE TO THE PRINCIPLE OF NON-USE OF FORCE.
FRG HAS HINTED ITS WILLINGNESS EVENTUALLY TO
ACCEPT THIS BUT ONLY AS PART OF A PACKAGE DEAL. GERMANS AND
MOST OTHER ALLIES ARE NOT YET WILLING TO MAKE THIS
CRUCIAL CONCESSION, WHICH WOULD ENABLE SOVIETS TO ACHIEVE
THEIR PRINCIPAL CSCE GOAL, UNLESS MANDATE ALSO CONTAINS:
PRINCIPLES ON HUMAN RIGHTS AND SELF-DETERMINATION, AN INDICATION
OF PREFERRED SOURCES WHICH WOULD NOT PREJUDICE ALLIED
POSITION IN SUBSEQUENT DRAFTING OF A DECLARATION, AND ADEQUATE
ANTI-BREZHNEV DOCTRINE LANGUAGE.

2. HUMAN CONTACTS. SOVIETS ARE WILLING TO ACCEPT A
FAIRLY DETAILED MANDATE ON BROADENING OF CULTURAL COOPERATION,
EDUCATIONAL EXCHANGES, AND "EXCHANGE" OF INFORMATION,
AND PROMOTION OF TOURISM, MEETINGS AMONG YOUNG PEOPLE, AND SPORTS
EXCHANGES. THEY HAVE TAKEN FIRM POSITION HOWEVER
AGAINST INCLUSION OF "WIDER FLOW" OF INFORMATION AND OF
ALLIES' PRINCIPAL "FREER MOVEMENT OF PEOPLE" PROPOSALS, I.E.,
IMPROVEMENT OF CONDITIONS FOR MARRIAGE BETWEEN NATIONALS OF
PARTICIPATING STATES, FAMILY REUNIFICATION, AND TRAVEL BETWEEN
AND WITHIN PARTICIPATING STATES. (THE LATER POINT, WOULD
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ENCOMPASS CURRENTLY SENSITIVE QUESTION OF EXIT VISAS AND

EMIGRATION TAXES.)

3. SOME ALLIES HAVE HINTED AT FLEXIBILITY IN FINDING SOLUTION TO HUMAN CONTACTS QUESTION, BUT SOVIET RIGIDITY IN WORKING GROUP AT THIS ADVANCED STATE (DESPITE AMBASSADOR MENDELEVICH' S MORE ENCOURAGING SIGNALS IN CORRIDOR) ONLY STRENGTHENS CONVICTIONS OF THOSE ALLIES WHO WISH TO HOLD BACK IN MPT.

4. MILITARY ASPECTS OF SECURITY. ALTHOUGH AGREEMENT IS NEAR ON CONFIDENCE- BUILDING MEASURES, SOVIETS HAVE PLACED RESERVATION ON ADVANCE NOTIFICATION OF MAJOR MILITARY " MOVEMENTS," AS DISTINCT FROM " MANEUVERS." ALLIES HAVE ARGUED THAT WITHOUT INCLUSION OF " MOVEMENTS," THIS MEASURE COULD EVEN OPEN WAY TO A NEW SOURCE OF TENSION SINCE MAJOR MILITARY MOVEMENTS ARE NOT CONCEALABLE IN ANY CASE.

5. ADDITIONAL PROBLEM AREA IS CONTINUED INSISTENCE OF SOME ALLIES, ROMANIA AND YUGOSLAVIA THAT CSCE PREPARE DECLARATION ON SECURITY AND ESTABLISH INFORMATION LINK WITH MBFR.

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